

found, the same terms as for other first cousins being used—that is, the terms for brothers and sisters. 601

Grandparents were called *tupuna* (*tupuna ahana*, grandfather; *tupuna vehine*, grandmother). All old people and ancestors in general were referred to as *tupuna*. Great-grandparents were *peka*, great-great-grandparents, *hina* or *hina tau*, and great-great-great-grandparents, *peka hina*. These terms applied also to great-uncles, great-aunts, and so on. Grandchildren were *moupuna* or *toupuna* (*moupuna tama*, grandson, and *moupuna mo'i*, granddaughter). The same term was applied generally to descendants, also to grandchildren-in-law, great-nephews, and nieces. Dordillon (8) gives *tu'o'i te pe'a* for grandchildren or descendants. Great-grandchildren were *peka*, *hinatu*, *tu'o'i*, *tu'o'i te hina* (8) or *moveka* (8). Great-great-grandchildren were *hina*; great-great-great-grandchildren, *peka hina*.

Pakeke indicated a collateral relationship between persons who were, as natives express it, linked by three persons (*e tou enata*.) Thus *motua pakeke* was the term used for the first cousins of one's father (one's cousins once removed), one's father, father's father, father's father's brother, for example, being the three persons linking one with such a first cousin once removed. *Toupu'una* signified a collateral relationship between persons linked by four persons (*e fa enata*). Thus second cousins were called *toupu'una*, there standing between the two, for example, a father, a father's father, a father's father's brother, and a father's father's brother's son. The reason for the use of *toupu'una* to designate the relationship between parents-in-law is not apparent.

In common parlance a foster parent, child, or other relative, was referred to as though he or she were a blood relative, but the foster relationship was more strictly specified by placing one or the other of the following adjectives, signifying adoption, after the usual relationship term: *tafai*, literally, to feed, the most common term; also *to'o*, to take; *maohi*, to seize or take; and *hopu*, to embrace or take. Dordillon (8) gives *mataautea* as meaning foster child. *Motua tafai* would mean foster father; *mo'i tafai*, foster daughter. 601 547

Age classes were referred to by the following terms: *toiki* (*to'i*, *poti'i* or *potiki*, *pa'iti*) were little children up to about the age of six. There was no term meaning infant or baby; *tama*, children of both sexes from birth up to adolescence; *tama oa*, boy, *mo'i* or *paho'e*, girl, *mahai*, an adolescent youth and *pokoehu*, an adolescent girl; *ahana*, males of virile age; and *vehine*, women of reproductive age; *ka'o'ua*, old men and *pa'afi'o* (*pakafi'o*, *pa'ahi'o*), old women. 601 561 ●

^{x304} naturally that it also appeared only upon people of advanced years (6, p. 130; 13, p. 102-103), a circumstance which undoubtedly led to Captain Chanal's conclusion that the marks had no relation to anything but age (11, p. 111).

^{x304} While the *tuhuna* was paid generously for work on an *opou*, the eldest son of a wealthy man, no payment was asked of the *ka'ioi*, a more or less unorganized group of younger sons and daughters, who took such part in the preparations as raiding for food and building the special house, and who slipped in to have designs punctured upon them gratis when the *opou* was resting or recuperating from the effects of the operation. It is perhaps these *ka'ioi* to whom Melville (12, p. 49) refers in speaking of the common fellows who were practiced on. Langsdorff was apparently unaware of this custom, for he says that those who could not afford tattooing went without:

The poorer islanders who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon breadfruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all. (10, p. 120.)

With the lower classes noticeably less tattooed than the higher, the conclusion was often drawn by early visitors that this form of decoration pointed out noble or distinguished persons (8, p. 155 and 13, p. 84). Berchon, writing in 1859, avows that all classes were tattooed at that time, but that formerly it was a sign of nobility and distinction. From what is to be gathered today from living informants, this is a misconception, in the main, based on the fact that wealth was in the hands of chiefs and distinguished men.

^{x304} Melville (13, p. 102) at one time assigns tattooing to the warrior class, but present information states that the untattooed as well as the tattooed went to war. That warriors, as well as other groups, wore special designs as badges is stated by modern informants as true in a few instances, and is frequently suggested by the early voyagers to the Marquesas. Spirals over the eyes (Pl. v, 7) are today described as belonging to all warriors in ancient times, while spirals called *kokoata* on cheeks and hips indicated chiefs, as do the tiny pinlike marks (Pl. xxxviii, G. d) to be seen today on the inside of the left ankle. After a battle these marks—according to the informants—were sought for by the priest of a victorious army on the ankles of the slain to determine whether a chief had been killed and a great battle fought. Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

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by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. 304^x VII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women 714 in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot 622 of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told [585] that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*.

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as re-304^x ported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face 561 being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250).

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of 304^x distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age 562 of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the 264 circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in 764 rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, [581] probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three.

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies 304^x distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville² describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con-

²All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

³⁰⁴clution that the fact reported must have been "quite exceptional" we must agree. It was customary, however, during famine times, for people to seek the service of chiefs in order to be fed, and it may have been the whim of some chief to have a particular mark tattooed upon them, but this was certainly not a general custom. Indeed, Melville relates the "Hanamanoo" episode as an especial and unusual case; and it does not seem unlikely that the same story is at the basis of both his and the Russians' accounts. They have probably misinterpreted the ordinary custom of the father of the *opou* during the period of tattooing feeding the *ka'ioi*, who were no more closely organized as a society than is our own "younger set," to whom they were somewhat analogous. This would fit, too, with the custom of the *tuhuna's* giving them samples of their art gratis during the rest periods of the *opou*.

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[56] A careful search for any possible significance of face designs as tribal marks, corroborative of Porter's statement to this effect (14, p. 114), calls forth today, except in one instance only, vociferous refutation. However, that face patterns were insular during a later period of the art is certain, the oblique *paheke* belonging to Nuku Hiva, the horizontal bands called *ti'ati'apu* being worn by Hiva Oans, and the latter's variant, the *ihuepo*, whose central band covers the nostrils themselves, being prevalent on Fatu Hiva. Lacassagne (9, p. 79) quotes Lombroso as declaring that face tattooing on Nuku Hiva distinguished two enemy factions, the one being marked by a triangle, the other by a circle. Triangles are associated with the tattooing of the inhabitants of Tai-pi Valley by Melville and Berchon, and these Tai-pi were powerful enemies of the tribes of Tai o Hae Valley. More than one present-day informant has stated that men of a certain tribe living in Tai o Hae were marked with a great black circle on the face (Pl. v, 10). Seeing the two styles and finding them associated with two enemy factions, it might be natural to conclude that face decoration was to distinguish enemies; but this is the one instance in which a tribal significance is assigned today to a face design.

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[88] That the operation of tattooing was performed during propitious seasons or at times of importance in the life of the individual to be decorated has been reported by Desgraz (18, p. 223). Living Marquesas informants place its practice during the dry season when there was no breadfruit to be harvested, during the months of October, November, December and early January. The women, whose tattooing may still be examined, place the beginning of their work at from seven to twelve years of age; the

Melville made up his story of the "Hanamanoo" episode after having read Langsdorff or Krusenstern.

men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Berchon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for the *tuhuna* and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones (*hutu*) were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making *tapa*, or the *tapa* itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi*, *tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

*304 The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house,
 343 which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a
 561 *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy
 (• *motahiapo*), other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing
 piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which be-
 longed with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who
 [283] built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was
 carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark
 rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual
 in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom
 in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's be-
 ing performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12,
 p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom
 of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing
 that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna*
 with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for
 private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant
tuhuna for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's
 account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed
 in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority
 (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in
 the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like
 the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that
 it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of
 relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though
 sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'a* (*po'a*, coconut
 thatching) was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a
 girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the
 operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'a* was not.

*304 The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the
 343 operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have
 834 nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine*
pu'atea (*pu'atea*, a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must
 hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for
 them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of
 *304 the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu*
 262 and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no
 regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation,
 though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions ap-
 parently for the sake of health. Garcia says the patients were forbidden
 for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and